

THE
SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIETY

FOR
Colonizing the Free People of Colour

OF THE
UNITED STATES.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

WASHINGTON CITY:

PRINTED BY DAVIS AND FORCE, (FRANKLIN'S HEAD,) PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.

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1823.

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The Sixth Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, was held in the Capitol, Washington City, on Thursday, February 20th, 1823.

In the Absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, General Charles F. Mercer was called to the Chair. The Annual Report was then read by the Agent; and, on motion of George Washington Parke Custis, Esq.

Resolved Unanimously,

That the thanks of this Society are due to the Managers and Officers of the Society, for the faithful discharge of their duties during the past year.

On the motion of General R. G. Harper,

Resolved Unanimously,

That the thanks of this Society be presented to the President and Officers of the Massachusetts Society, to aid in the suppression of the Slave Trade; for the kind assistance lent by them to the Agent of the Board in his recent visit to New-England; and that they be assured that this Society entertain for them sentiments of high consideration and esteem.

On the motion of Gen. W. Jones,

Resolved Unanimously,

That this Society gratefully acknowledge their obligations to Governor sir Charles M'Carthy, sir Charles Grant, the Hon. K. Macauley, the Rev. Mr. Flood, Dr. Shower, and the Rev. Mr. Johnson of

Sierra Leone, for their kind attention to the Society's Agent, and to the Colonists during their residence at Fourah Bay.

On the motion of the Hon. Wm. D. Williamson,

Resolved Unanimously,

That the thanks of this Society be given to Dr. Eli Ayres, for his important services, while acting as Agent on the coast of Africa.

On the motion of Mr. Gurley,

Resolved Unanimously,

That this Society cherish a grateful remembrance of the pious exertions of the late Mrs. Ashmun.

OFFICERS.

The Hon. BUSHROD WASHINGTON, President.

Vice Presidents.

Hon. William H. Crawford, of Georgia.

Hon. Henry Clay, of Kentucky.

Hon. William Phillips, of Massachusetts.

Hon. Henry Rutgers, of New-York.

Hon. John E. Howard, of Maryland.

Hon. John C. Herbert, of Maryland.

Hon. Daniel Webster, of Boston.

Isaac M. Kim, Esq. of Maryland.

General R. G. Harper, of Maryland.

General John Hartwell Cocke, of Virginia.

General Charles F. Mercer, Virginia.

Robert Ralston. Esq. of Pennsylvania.

Right Rev. Bishop White, of Pennsylvania.

Jeremiah Day, D. D. of Yale College.

General John Mason, of the District of Columbia.

Samuel Bayard, Esq. of New-Jersey.

William H. Fitzhugh, Esq. of Virginia.

Managers.

Francis S. Key, Esq. Rev. William Hawley,

Walter Jones, Esq. Rev. Henry Foxall,

Rev. Dr. James Laurie, Jacob Hoffmann, Esq.

Rev. Dr. S. B. Balch, William Thornton, Esq.

Rev. Obadiah B. Brown, Joseph Gales, jun. Esq.

Rev. Dr. W. H. Wilmer, Colonel Henry Ashton.

ELIAS B. CALDWELL, Esq. *Secretary.*

JOHN UNDERWOOD, Esq. *Recording Sec'y.*

RICHARD SMITH, Esq. *Treasurer.*

RALPH RANDOLPH GURLEY, *Agent.*

REPORT.

GREAT designs are in their execution, seldom attended with immediate success. This remark is most strikingly true, of those designs which tend to improve the civil and moral condition of mankind.

Those causes which change the characters of nations, though they may be simple in their nature, and certain in their result, are usually slow in their operation ; and it is not until long after the first influence is felt on the public mind, that they are known in their full and extended power.

The Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, commenced their efforts, with no hope of exemption from those discouragements, which are occasionally felt by all who labour in the cause of humanity and virtue. They knew, too well, the ordinary fate of benevolent enterprizes, to imagine that their progress would be unimpeded ; and they saw, too clearly, the difficulties peculiar to their own object, to expect its accomplishment, without the experience of both opposition and calamity.

Who that is accustomed to reflection, does not perceive that the design of our Society, while it appeals for aid to the interest of the South, to the humanity of the North, and to the religion of the whole country, is necessarily of such a character, as to array against it the prejudices of numerous individuals throughout the land. Hence the Managers have been represented by some, as the enemies of subordination ; by others, as the advocates of slavery, and by others, as deranged with enthusiasm.

Conscious, however, of the rectitude of their principles, and convinced of the feasibility of their plans, they have persevered, confident that their motives will one day be duly appreciated, and trusting their cause to the Ruler of the world.

It is with no ordinary pleasure, that the Board express their opinion, that at no time since the institution of their Society, were their friends so numerous as at the present moment, nor public sentiment so favourable to their object.

Recent public events did indeed excite feelings, especially at the North, hostile to their design; but as these feelings had their origin, either in misapprehension, or in that spirit of animosity which forms its judgments without the distinctions of reason, they have already begun to subside: and the Board consider the remaining motions of enmity or dissatisfaction, as only "the workings of a sea, before a calm, which rocks itself to rest." This very opposition will, they doubt not, be rendered subservient to the interests of Africa; because the public mind, when settled into tranquillity, must discern the unreasonableness of its own prejudices; and instructed by experience, must be prepared to aid the cause of Colonization, entirely convinced of its importance, and guarded forever against inconstancy and suspicion.

Had the Board, in their last Report, predicted that before another anniversary, their proceedings would result in some great achievement, demonstrating to all the world, the wisdom of their plans, they had evinced understandings as weak as their expectations were vain. That man is but ill prepared to act for the benefit of a world, whose benevolence is confined to present generations, and who refuses to promote a scheme, because

posterity only can witness its completion, and enjoy the fulness of its salutary influence.

Though in reviewing the past year, the Board find no extraordinary effects of their exertions, which they might relate for the sake of those who will act only in concert with miraculous agency, yet they would be insensible to religious duty, were they to fail in offering thanks to Heaven, for a measure of success equal to their expectations; sufficient to confirm hope and invigorate resolution.

It will be recollected, that immediately after the purchase of a territory, Dr. Ayres, proceeded to Sierra Leone, for the purpose of removing the colonists to the spot selected for their establishment. During their residence at Fourah-Bay, several of the people showed a spirit of insubordination which required vigorous measures for its suppression. When, therefore, it was announced that on the first of January a vessel would sail for Cape Montserado, and that all must at that time be prepared for their departure, though the intelligence excited general joy, three or four individuals neglected the injunction, and remained as residents in the British Colony; an event by no means to be regretted.

The colonists arrived at Cape Montserado on the 7th of January. It was soon ascertained, that King Peter had been condemned by the other chiefs of the country, for the sale of the land, and threatened with the loss of his head; and that it had been decreed that our people should leave the coast. This information was disregarded. The vessel was unloaded, and preparations were made for building. Another interview however, with the Kings was found indispensable. Here the previous intelligence was confirmed; but the firmness and energy of the Society's Agent, checked the rising opposition and restored peace.

During the month of February, disease prevailed among the colonists, and prevented any vigorous exertions. Several of the coloured people had, of necessity, remained at Fourah-Bay. These persons arrived at Montserado in the *Calypso*, on the sixteenth of that month. Dr. Ayres, knowing that his presence was demanded at Sierra Leone, immediately embarked in this vessel for Freetown : from which place, after having concluded the settlement of accounts, he received on board the remaining colonists, sailed for Montserado, and anchored at the Cape on the 7th of April. He found the Colony in confusion and alarm. A British prize slave vessel had during his absence, solicited permission to take water from the Cape, and had received an affirmative answer to her request. This vessel parted her cable and was thrown on shore. The spirit of hostility, excited by a dispute between the Captain and one of the Kings, added to the powerful motive presented by the presence of a French vessel, waiting for her complement of slaves, induced the natives to attack her, with purposes of plunder. Several of our people engaged in her defence. In the contest which ensued, and which they in vain endeavoured to prevent, two of the natives were unfortunately killed ; and on the succeeding day, a British soldier and one of our colonists. Through the criminal inadvertency of an English sailor, who discharged a cannon in the immediate vicinity of the store-house, this building took fire : and with it most of the clothing, provisions, and utensils of the Colony were destroyed.

Dr. Ayres perceived the necessity for an immediate convention of the Kings. In this convention, he gave a concise history of his proceedings since his arrival in Africa ; and maintained with spirit and boldness his right to the purchased territory. After some opposition and de-

lay, the whole assembly, amounting to seventeen Kings and thirty-four half Kings, assented to the settlement of the colonists: and on the 25th of April, the American flag was hoisted on Cape Montserado.

*Flag hoisted
26th Apr
1781*

The commencement of the rains, the unexpected difficulty of building, and the impossibility of obtaining native labour on account of the recent disturbances, conspired to render the condition of the colonists at this time both critical and distressing. Dr. Ayres resolved on visiting the United States, to acquaint the Society with the necessities of the Colony, and to obtain supplies for its relief. Notwithstanding their discouraging circumstances, most of the colonists, with a zeal and resolution highly honourable to their character, determined to retain possession of a territory acquired with so much difficulty and so much suffering; and therefore proceeded at once, with ardour and diligence, to prepare for a continuance at the Cape. Accompanied, however, by a few individuals, the Agent again visited Sierra Leone, obtained provisions for the Colony, returned to Montserado, appointed one of the most respectable colonists to act as superintendent during his absence; and after witnessing with high satisfaction the peace and comparative prosperity of the Settlement, took passage for this country on the 4th of June. And here the Board would mention from among the colonists, as particularly worthy of commendation, for their good conduct, fortitude, and active co-operation with the Agent, amid his numerous perplexities and discouragements, Elijah Johnston, Joseph Blake, Lot Carey, and Richmond Sampson.

The Brig Strong, Captain Otis, sailed from Baltimore, on the 19th of June, having on board Mr. and Mrs. Ashmun, and thirty-five colonists. Mr. Ashmun was charged with the management of certain re-captured

Africans, and also received authority to act as temporary Agent of the Board. These re-captured Africans were from the State of Georgia, fifteen in number, rescued by the benevolence of our government from the claims of injustice, and now sent out under the protection and at the expense of the United States. The Strong arrived at Montserado, on the 8th of August. Mr. Ashmun, according to his instructions, immediately assumed the agency, adopted such regulations and proceeded to the execution of such works, as seemed likely to prove most conducive to the harmony and defence of the Colony. By the return of the Strong, the Society have been furnished with ample communications from the Agent; particularly with his daily journal from the 8th of August to the 12th of September, which, when it is considered that it was written during the intervals of a violent fever, bears high testimony to the zeal and industry of its author. It contains much important information, concerning the situation, harbour, soil and advantages of the Colony, its present condition and necessities, and is enriched with many valuable remarks. Copious extracts from these papers will be found in the Appendix *

All the intelligence from Africa, during the last year, has served to confirm the Board in their previous opinions; and confident they are, that it is only requisite to diffuse correct information concerning the condition and prospects of the Colony, to obtain for it, from all parts of the country, that immediate aid, which will render it the perpetual light of Africa, and an eternal monument to our nation's praise.

There are now in Africa, about one hundred and thirty settlers, occupying a station, which according to

* Appendix, Nos. 1, 2.

English, as well as American testimony, surpasses in advantages for a colonial establishment, any other situation on the coast.* A town has been commenced on a regular plan, comfortable houses constructed, and works thrown up for defence against the Barbarian powers. The natives are generally amicable: and were it otherwise, little apprehension would be felt, since a concerted attack is altogether improbable, and each King can command but a small force, destitute alike of conduct and courage. The harbour may with very small expense be rendered excellent; the lands are easily cleared and cultivated; the soil is rich, and yields in abundance the most valuable productions of the tropical climates. Not an instance of sickness has occurred during the season, among those colonists who had passed one year in Africa; and the fever which attacked those who went out in the Strong, has in most cases been mild and easily subdued.

It is with pain that the Board record the death of Mrs. Ashmun, whose Christian zeal and charity, will long be remembered at the Colony and admired in her native land. She fell a sacrifice to her disinterested kindness: as the Board have been informed, that during every intermission of fever, while her strength permitted, she was found administering to the wants and alleviating the sufferings of others.

The Managers cannot but consider the fact, that there prevails extensively, among the African tribes, a strong desire for our language, and the arts of civilized life, as one most auspicious, and which should administer reproof to indifference, as well, as encouragement to effort.

The principal King of the region bordering upon our Territory, expressed almost rapturous joy, when told that

* Appendix, No. 3.

his people should be instructed in the American method of manufacturing cloths, and earnestly requested Dr. Ayres, to bring his son to this country, and afford him here the means of education. A compliance with this request was prevented only, by the reluctance of the boy to leave his native shores.

The present Agent, has already entered into negotiations for trade, with several of the tribes, and also admitted several African youths to a residence in the Colony ; and the Board indulge the hope, that the time is not remote, when their Settlement by its schools, and ministers, shall impart to many of these Barbarians, that knowledge which civilizes and elevates the character ; which softens and subdues the soul.*

The disposition among the free people of colour to emigrate to Africa, is daily increasing, nor can the Board doubt, that when the permanency of the Colony is no longer uncertain, vessels will be fitted out by them, at their own expense, from most of the cities of our country. In Petersburg, (Virginia,) and its vicinity, they have already determined to make preparations for a voyage, and have requested the sanction of the Board to their proceedings. A similar disposition has been manifested in other places.

The past year has also afforded evidence, to corroborate the opinion, expressed by the Board in their former Reports, that many extensive proprietors of slaves will emancipate their servants, and aid in their transfer to Africa, as soon, as the Colony shall be prepared for their reception. The Managers cannot determine the extent of this liberal disposition ; but when they reflect upon the frequency of manumissions, wherever the law has imposed no restriction, when they consider the power of example, in whatever concerns the honourable,

* Appendix, No. 4.

and generous of human character, and especially, when they recollect the institutions of their country, and the light of the age, they are induced to expect, that should prosperity attend the Colony, thousands now in servitude amongst us, will one day be freemen in the land of their ancestors.*

It is well known, that nothing contributes so effectually to the safety and influence of an individual amongst uncivilized men, as a practical knowledge of the arts of more enlightened nations. The feelings of veneration and selfishness, peculiarly strong in uncultivated natures, are enlisted at once in favour of him, who evinces powers that astonish by their might or mysteriousness, and are coveted for their utility. It has been, indeed, by the visits and exertions of "intelligent strangers," that many rude tribes have been rescued from Barbarism, and elevated to importance and dignity among the nations of the world. "In the early traditions of Greece and Italy, some traces of such sources of civilization may be found, and the benefactors of nations who were said to have descended from the skies and were honoured as gods, are reasonably supposed to have been no other than intelligent foreigners, who first brought the useful arts of their own countries to a rude and ignorant people. A similar origin has been ascribed, to the civilization which was found in some kingdoms of South America on their first discovery by the Spaniards. If the nations of the old world had their Cadmus and Saturn, Peru had her Manco Capac, who instructed her once barbarous people in agriculture and the liberal arts, and whose accidental arrival from some unknown region probably gave rise to the fable of his descent from the Sun."†

* Appendix, No. 5.

† First Report of the African Institution.

The Board consider it as a matter of the first importance, that all those who may at this early period become residents at the Colony, should not only be persons of moral worth and industrious habits, but also possessed of that Agricultural or Mechanical skill which will secure them access to all the neighbouring nations, and give them an almost magical influence over the conduct of the Barbarians.

The present condition of the natives in the vicinity of the Society's Settlement, is most favourable to the efforts of the Philanthropist, and that an attempt to instruct them in the arts and Christianity will be successful, seems almost certain. The Slave Trade, checked in this part of Africa by the noble exertions of the American and British Naval Officers on the coast, no longer supplies the wants of the inhabitants; so that they are compelled to look to a different commerce, for those foreign productions to which they are immoderately attached, and even their subsistence seems to depend upon a change in their mode of life. But should the expectation of the Board, that the Slave Trade will soon be stigmatized by the unanimous decision of all the powers of Christendom as an offence against the law of nations, be disappointed, much may be done towards its extermination, by the influence of a Colony, which may open with the natives a legitimate commerce, furnish them with Agricultural utensils, instruct them in the Arts and the true Religion, and exhibit before them the superiour happiness of an humane, industrious, and Christian people.

The Board are well convinced that an Institution, which might receive under its patronage coloured youths destined for the Colony, impart to them a knowledge of Agriculture and the useful arts, and educate

them, in such a manner, as should best tend to ensure their industry, economy, subordination and religion, would prove of incalculable advantage to their cause. It is believed, that such an institution would not only support itself, but also pay the interest of the capital expended in its establishment. The Board rejoice to learn, that something of this kind is already contemplated by several highly respected individuals; and they trust that means will soon be furnished to complete the design.

The Board are not able to say, whether a resolution, urged upon the attention of the legislature of Georgia, by the Putnam Colonization Society, in their very able and interesting Report of the last year, and which, soon after, was unanimously adopted by the House of Representatives, has yet received the sanction of the Senate of that State. This resolution authorizes the Governor of Georgia, to turn over to the Colonization Society, after deducting the expenses incurred on account of Africans, the proceeds of the sales of sixty re-captured negroes, disposed of, in pursuance of the act of the legislature of 1817, for the benefit of the State. This act, it will be recollected, has since been arrested in its operation by a law of Congress, of the 3d of March, 1819.

The Board cannot but hope, that the Senate of Georgia, will on this subject, yield to the powerful appeal made by their own citizens, to their "intelligence, their patriotism and their humanity."

The events of the last year, have confirmed the Board in the belief, that the Slave trade, though at present extensively carried on, must soon finally and forever cease. The enormities of this traffick have aroused the indignation of Christian nations, and they will suppress it. It is impossible that such an offence against justice, humanity, the dignity of our nature, and the voice of

God, should much longer be perpetrated with impunity. The sentiments of the age forbid it. They partake too much, of the kind, generous, and lofty spirit of Christianity, to suffer the continuance of this outrageous violation of the most obvious principles of right, of the deepest, truest, and most sacred emotions of the heart.

It will surely afford high gratification to the philanthropists of all nations, to learn, that during the last year, the Society of Christian Morals in Paris, formed under the authority of the government, has appointed a committee, to devise such means, as may contribute most effectually to hasten the abolition of the Slave trade; which (in the language of this committee) is formally prohibited by the laws, and condemned by conscience, but continued by cupidity.* This committee is composed of some of the principal characters in France. The Managers trust, that they will exert such an influence on the public mind, that the executive officers will be excited to do their duty; and that the French flag will soon be rescued, from the opprobrious distinction, of alone protecting the Slave trade, on the north of the Equator.

No event of the year, has given the Managers more pleasure, than the formation at Boston, of the Massachusetts Society, to aid in the suppression of the Slave trade. This Institution, established in consequence of the application of a gentleman who offered his services for a few weeks to the Board, whether we consider the place of its origin, the character of its officers, or the regard expressed in its constitution for the Colonization Society, is entitled to high consideration, and demands from the Managers the most cordial expressions of respect and esteem.†

* Appendix, No. 6.

† Appendix, No. 7.

The Board can no longer doubt, that their design has met the approbation of the most intelligent people in New-England, and that it will receive their liberal and continued support.

It is gratifying to observe the sympathy and good feeling among enlightened and benevolent men of all nations, resulting from the mutual expression of their sentiments on the subject of the Slave trade, and from their combined exertions for its suppression. National animosities seem to be extinguished, local prejudices and political jealousies are merged in one common sensibility to the sufferings of a bleeding people : and we trust that the coalition of all Christian Powers against the Slave trade, will prove the commencement of an indissoluble union, which shall fix and perpetuate the peace of the world. Every citizen of the United States, must glory in the profound sense of duty, evinced by his own government, in its strenuous, efficient, and persevering efforts for the destruction of this traffick ; and rejoice in the honourable distinction enjoyed by his nation, on this account, in the opinion of intelligent foreigners.

And here, the Board beg leave to introduce a passage from a foreign publication* of great celebrity, in which, the Report of the committee of Congress, to whom in 1821, was referred so much of the President's Message, as relates to the Slave trade, is mentioned in terms of the highest commendation.

“ Upon this question,” (the right of search) says this able writer, “ equally delicate and important, it is with peculiar satisfaction, that we consider how powerful must be the authority and influence of the line pursued by the American States, not only, from the just weight of that great and free nation, but from the very natural prejudice en-

* Edinburgh Review.

tertained by it against the belligerent right of search. The immortal honour which the Americans have gained by their former exertions against the Slave trade, augmented by their recent enactments, classing it among piratical offences, will soon, as it now appears, be consummated by their accession to the principle for which we have been contending.

“A Report lies before us from a committee of Congress on this point, and nothing can be more judicious or enlightened. The perusal of it, may well make those of our countrymen blush, who pass their lives in effeminate railing at their kinsmen in the new world, and who seem to delight in nothing so much as the rational hope, that the jealousies of two nations may be fanned into fierce and implacable hostility, at the time when each can least afford to lose the others assistance. The committee begin with showing, that a mutual right of search is indispensable to the object of abolition, as affording the only security against Slave traders taking refuge under the flag of any power, which should at any time, become less vigilant than the rest, in executing its abolition laws. They then advert to the prejudices existing in America to this right, founded upon the opinions entertained respecting the practice of searching neutral vessels in time of war, and they deny, that the two kinds of search, are in principle, in any degree allied, and most justly observe, that the unqualified admission of England, that no right at present exists of searching in time of peace, an admission both founded upon the decisions of our prize Courts, and evinced by the negotiation itself, ought to remove the principal objections against the new arrangements contended for. They put the matter upon plain practical ground, when they add, that the question is, whether such an agreement will be benefi-

cial to the two nations, and they truly add, that all inconveniences from the detention of vessels will be precluded, by limiting the right of seizure to ships having slaves actually on board." The writer then proceeds to make some quotations from the Report, prefacing them with the remark, "we believe a more gratifying example of sound principle, never was displayed in a state paper." He concludes, "The most sanguine hopes may therefore be entertained, that the question will be satisfactorily adjusted between the English and American governments. May we not, then, appeal to the body of our most enlightened European neighbours, and call upon them to stimulate their rulers, not only, to follow the example set by England and America, in classing the Slave Trade among heinous crimes, but to join them in that measure, which, if those three great maritime powers adopt it, must speedily become the law of nations." *

In conclusion, the Board return their thanks to the several Auxiliary Societies, and to all their friends, for the assistance afforded to their object during the last year, and beg leave to press upon them the necessity of more vigorous and extensive exertions. A vessel chartered by the Society, having on board Dr. Ayres, and such a number of colonists as can be accommodated, will sail in a few days, from Baltimore to LIBERIA, the name of the purchased Territory on the coast. At this crisis of intense interest, when the weakness of the Colony renders it exposed to disasters, when causes which could not impair a firmer establishment, may work its destruction, when the momentous question is, shall Africa be freed, enlightened, saved, or shall her hopes be extinguished—perhaps forever : the Board cannot believe that they shall be denied the liberal contributions of their countrymen.

They trust that the editors of public papers, and literary journals, will aid their design, by diffusing correct information concerning it, that the patriot will think of his country, and give it his influence, and that all the ministers of Religion, will plead for it in the name of Heaven. If there are those who still believe the maintenance of Government in the Colony impracticable, to them the Board will only say, that on this subject no serious difficulty has as yet occurred; and that indeed, so intimate is the connection, between the interest of the settlers and their subordination, that rebellion would prove them alike destitute of reason and of self-regard.

But it is said that the colonists will soon mingle with the natives, and sink down into the rudeness and degradation of the Barbarian character. But such a supposition is in contradiction, not only to every argument which may be fairly deduced from the principles of our nature, but also to the universal experience of mankind. Are not the love of superiority and the desire of admiration, among the most deeply seated sentiments in the human mind? And can we believe that civilized men, surrounded by those who regard them with almost superstitious veneration, will voluntarily abandon all the privileges of their station and descend to companionship and a livelihood with the most ignorant of our race? But the Board appeal on this subject to the history of the world. If it has ever happened (which the Board are inclined to doubt,) that a body of civilized men, have, by a residence in a barbarous country, degenerated to a level with the inhabitants, how many are the recorded instances, in which such men have changed the character and condition of unlettered tribes, and elevated them not merely to their own station, but made them their companions in improvement!

May we not trace the origin of civilization in Greece to the establishment in her territories of colonies from Egypt? It is true that less can be said of the beneficial effects of the Roman colonies, because they were generally "Military Stations, garrisons kept in conquered countries, advanced posts of a great army whose head quarters were at Rome." Nothing however can, in most instances, be more true, than "that the benefits in points of civilization, resulting to barbarous countries from colonies of private adventurers from countries more advanced in knowledge, have entailed honour on those who imparted them, and claimed returns of respect and gratitude from those on whom they were bestowed."

It remains with the public then, to decide whether our infant Colony shall live or die. But it shall not die. The Omnipotent will defend it. The Board are confident that Heaven will not suffer their Enterprise to fail; an Enterprise, looking to results as grand and as glorious as were ever effected by human exertion; that would exterminate a Trade, the thought of which is agony; cover Africa with the monuments of civilization and the Light of Truth; remedy an evil, in its nature most distressing, in its influence most injurious, and which threatens to convulse our country, and thus render stainless the honour, and eternal the stability, of the freest and the happiest nation on earth.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

Extract from the Journal kept at Montserado, on the Coast of Africa.

Thursday, August 8th, 1822.

The transport brig Strong, Captain Otis, anchored in Montserado Bay in 81 days from Baltimore. She brought out a variety of stores, the property of the United States, and others, the property of the Colonization Society.

August 9th.

J. Ashmun, finding that both the Agents appointed to the superintendence of the Colony, had judged it necessary to depart to the United States, assumed, according to instructions, the capacity of Principal Agent. He spent the day in making a survey of the state of the Colony. A town had been commenced, on a plan not utterly destitute of regularity, on the Cape. The dwellings are built in the cheap native style, 27 or 30 in number. A small storehouse had been erected of frame work, of barely sufficient capacity to contain the stores found in it. This day, the Agent directed that the Market House should be enclosed with wattled walls, and plastered, for the temporary accommodation of the recaptured Africans. He ordered Johnston to purchase 100 mats of the natives, for flooring and ceiling the new houses; he also directed James to superintend the construction of a temporary storehouse, nearly opposite the present one.

August 10th.

The brig parted her cable and went out to sea with the Agent on board.

August 11th.

The brig endeavoured to regain her anchorage under Cape Montserado.

August 12th.

At six o'clock, P. M. the brig was again brought to an anchor, the point of the Cape bearing S. E. 4 1-2 miles distant. the depth of the water 6 1-2 fathoms.

August 13th.

This morning a large ship, carrying both the American and French colours, having an American crew and mixed officers, anchored off the Cape. A part of the officers and crew came on shore, ostensibly in pursuit of an honourable trade.

The following arrangement for landing the cargo was made : We hired a long boat and natives, (all but one of the latter of Carey,) to ply continually between the brig and the Settlement, across the bar. The brig's long boat is manned with five men from the Colony, to ply constantly between the brig and the beach.

A long boat belonging to the Settlement, and which was last night hauled up to be repaired, is also manned and employed as the preceding.

The brig's jolly-boat is manned with three men, to ply between the brig and the beach or Settlement, as the sea or loading may require.

Three men are stationed on the beach, to assist the boats in landing the stores, and to convey them over the Lizard to the river. Three men are appointed to the canoe belonging to the Settlement, to ply between that and the Lizard. Three men are likewise appointed to man the small boat of the Settlement, and ply between the same stations. One man is stationed at the landing place in the Settlement, to receive the goods from the canoe, and to send them up the hill to the storehouse. At the storehouse are stationed a trusty man and assistant, and two native boys, to receive

and dispose of the stores. By this arrangement, it is believed the brig may be discharged in twelve fair days.

August 14th.

The Agent had an interview with King Peter, and King Long Peter. The dispositions of both these Kings appeared to be friendly.

August 15th.

Finding the long boat useless, it was directed to be laid on shore and repaired. Several loads of goods were landed. No instance of sickness has occurred.

Friday, August 16th.

To-day we continued to discharge the brig, slowly, having but two long boats.

The Agent proceeded in a native canoe, to the residence of King Brister, 13 miles distant to the northward, situated near the beach.

The Agent stated to the King *his friendly disposition, thanked him for the friendship he had evinced towards the settlers, and desired the same amicable feelings and intercourse might be perpetual. He further offered to open with King B. and his people, a fair and mutually advantageous trade, to be carried on, on the one part, in American and European goods; on the other, in the productions of the country.*

The King replied, in substance, that "he was pleased with the formation of a Settlement of American people; he had felt, and should continue to feel, friendly to the establishment. The whole country was, indeed, known abroad by the common name of Montserado. But it consisted of different Principalities, entirely distinct from each other, not only in name, and political condition, but still more, in laws, usages, and moral character. It would, therefore, be unjust and erroneous, to take up an opinion unfavourable to all the tribes, from the misconduct of one or two Kings, or their people. He was old: it was time his character, both as a

King and man, was formed and known. He hoped we should, on further acquaintance, find both him and his people worthy of confidence. He was quite willing to open a trade with the American Settlement. He engaged to protect it ; was glad to see the Agent ashore, and intended soon to pay the Settlement a friendly visit."

Sunday, August 18th.

Worship was celebrated three times in the Colony.

Monday, August 19th.

The place for erecting a battery was chosen at the head of the principal street. This position effectually commands one of the watering places which supply the Settlement, the whole mouth of the river, the landing place on the beach, King George's town, the landing place at the Settlement, and the whole Island on which the populous native town owned by Carey, is situated. A twelve pound shot can likewise, be sent, with great ease, from this eminence into King Peter's own town ! It hardly admits a doubt that when these works are completed, we shall receive no further molestation from any of these people.

The plan of the town was extended.

Wednesday, August 21st, 1821.

Several applications have been made from neighbouring Head-men, and other natives for apprenticing their sons, and wards, to the Agent and the colonists, for a limited term. Their object is to have them instructed in the English Language, and the arts of civilized life. Commonly they ask no other compensation for the services of their young men, than their subsistence. To day several applications of this nature were made by King West, of Trade Town on the river Junk, from 10 to 20 miles to the south of Montserado. This King sent his own son to live with the Agent. At this early stage of the Settlement, but few of these offers can be accepted.

Thursday, August 22nd.

Having a press of labour on our hands, the Agent is induced to accept the offer yesterday made him of the services of three young men from Trade-Town, one of whom is the head-man's son. No compensation except their subsistence and instruction in the English language is required. They are employed in clearing the site of the fortification, and preparing for the construction of the work of defence, so necessary for the present security of the Settlement.

The plan is : To build on the crown of the height, an octagonal work of strong mason work. The walls are to be settled four feet below the level of the surface without ; and after rising four feet above the ground, to be strongly floored over. The wall is to be carried four feet above the floor ; and this part of it to be perforated with eight wide port-holes. The whole is to be roofed ; the diameter of this octagon, is to be thirty feet : a long eighteen pounder, now at the Colony, is to be mounted on the floor. The strong apartment, below which is to be made bomb proof, is intended at present to be used as a store-house, eventually for the arsenal. Inside, and opening through the wall, is to be the magazine—the whole below the surface of the ground without.

A concentric circle is to be drawn around this work at the distance of fourteen feet from the walls. The space between is to be reduced to a plane, the exterior part of which, is to be supported by a wall from three to four feet high, as the declivity of the ground may require. This wall will be raised one foot above the level of the area within, which is to mount all the guns belonging to the establishment.

At twenty feet distance from the wall, is to be another, raised four feet above the bank, formed of the earth thrown from a shallow excavation below it. This is to be rendered more secure by a hedge of picket-work, musket-proof, raised on the top. This wall, of course is to be a circle of one hundred and two feet diameter.

The heavy rain, and great distance of the brig, prevented the landing of more than four boat loads of her cargo to day.

The Settlement requires better schools than it has ever yet had ; an able and faithful Missionary, who should be entirely and exclusively occupied in his work, and the presence of a greater number of persons, whose character would command respect, and possess a weight that should be felt.

The following arrangement has been adopted for disposing of the fifteen native Africans brought out in the brig :

1. They are to form a community by themselves, entirely unconnected, except in worship, and as hereafter stated, with the other Colonists. They reside together, under the constant direction of Major T. Draper, a single man, who constantly occupies apartments connected with their's.

2. Their Superintendent is to control their hours of rising and sleeping, lead the family devotions, diligently instruct them in reading, writing, figures, and the principles of christianity, from three to four hours, daily.

3. D. George is appointed to take charge of them at a particular hour every day, lead them into the field, and teach them Agriculture, for several hours ; subject to future designation.

4. Draper is to be responsible for the good order, cleanliness, and good conduct of the boys—rules, premiums, penalties, are established. Cleanliness, order, and industry must be carried to the last degree of perfection amongst them.

The reasons for this arrangement, are the following : No other would offer these persons the constant superintendence and all that minute and laborious instruction which they require. Whatever trades they may hereafter learn, they all need to understand Agriculture, in such an establishment as this. Finally, they will be preserved in a great measure, from the vicious examples of others.

Friday, August 23rd.

About twenty persons arrived from Grand Bassa, having travelled on the beach a day and a half, and bringing with them a plentiful supply of rice, and cassada, a few goats, sheep and fowls, and a little palm-oil. Their conductor, well known

for his intelligence and activity, gave the assurance that the Colony can be easily furnished with all the rice, honey and goats they can consume, from Bassa alone.

At noon to-day, Mrs. Blake, one of the women just arrived in the Strong, was violently attacked with every symptom of inflammatory fever. She had exposed herself imprudently to the wet, and was lodged in a house without a floor.

King George, one of the petty head men, whose signatures are affixed to the deed executed by Dr. Ayres and Lieutenant Stockton, and whose residence is nearly within musket shot of the Settlement, conscious of his own guilty and perfidious conduct, afraid of the resentment of the Agent, and bitterly hostile to the Colony, absented himself from his town within three days after the arrival of the brig, and has neither returned, nor had any communication with the Colony since.

That George is anxious to cut off every foreigner on Montserado, and forever prevent their forming a Settlement, there can be no doubt. Vague reports are flying in daily from different quarters, that he is now exerting himself strenuously to raise a force sufficient to effect this purpose. So much are the native labourers, employed in the Settlement, moved by what they see and hear of George's designs upon it, that they nearly all retire at the approach of night to the different towns in the neighbourhood, to lodge.

Sunday, August 25th.

Worship as usual. The thermometer has remained stationary, or very nearly so, at 77 degrees, since the arrival of the brig in Africa.

In consequence of imprudent, but unavoidable fatigue and exposure to the rain and water, and of sitting for several hours in a newly plastered meeting house, the Agent had a chill this evening, followed by a high fever through the night. It subsided in a copious sweat towards morning.

The African fever seems unavoidable to a foreigner, though it may be much mitigated by proper caution.

Monday, August 26th.

Fresh rumours are constantly arriving from the southward, respecting King George's hostile movements. Some of our native labourers begin to solicit a discharge.

Our means of defence are, thirty effective men, one brass field piece, a six pounder, one iron piece of ordnance of the same size, one iron four pounder, and two swivels. These are mounted. We have *unmounted*, one long eighteen pounder, and three iron four pounders, one or two of which are probably useless. There are barely muskets enough to arm the men, and, for the present, a sufficiency of suitable ammunition.

Saturday, August 31st.

The strength of the Colony was to-day thus organized, and the accompanying orders issued :

1. The Settlement is under military law.
2. E. Johnston is Commissary of Stores.
3. R. Sampson is Commissary of Ordnance.
4. L. Carey, Health Officer and General Inspector.
5. *F. James*, Capt. brass mounted field piece, and has assigned to his command, R. Newport, M. S. Draper, Wm. Meade, and J. Adams.
6. *A. James*, Capt. long 18, and under his command, J. Benson, E. Smith, Wm. Hollinger, D. Hawkins, John, and Thos. Spencer.
7. *J. Shaw*, Capt. of the southern picket station, mounting two iron guns. To his command are attached, L. Campbell, E. Jackson, J. Lawrence, L. Crock, and Geo. Washington.
8. *D. George*, Capt. of the eastern picket station, mounting two iron guns. Attached are, A. Edmondson, Jos. Gardener, Josh. Webster, and J. Carey.
9. C. Brander, Capt. of a carriage mounting two swivels, to act in concert with the brass piece, and move from station to station as the occasion may require. Attached are, T. Tines and L. Butler.

10. Every man is to have his musket and ammunition with him even while on duty at the large guns.

11. Every officer is responsible for the conduct of the men placed under him, who are to obey him at their peril.

12. The guns are all to be got ready for action immediately, and every effective man to be employed on the pickets.

13. Five stations to be occupied by the guards by night, till other orders shall be given.

14.* No useless firing permitted.

15. In case of an alarm, every man is to repair instantly to his post, and do his duty.

Thursday, September 12th.

Rain falls in floods. The sick all seem better, except Mrs. Ashmun. She is speechless, and almost without her reason. There is no rational hope of her recovery. All remedies on which her husband dares to venture, have been tried in vain. He now, with a burdened heart, resigns her up to her God; and, scarcely able to support himself, painfully watches over what he considers the last hours of her mortal existence. When last possessed of the power of reflection, she declared herself happy in her God, and to possess not a wish which was not absorbed in his holy will. The reading of the Scriptures seemed principally to feed and revive her faith in the precious Redeemer. She seemed to have intercourse with God in prayer. Her husband may follow her in a few days, or weeks, at most, and he here ventures to record it as the first wish of his heart, that the will of the Lord may be done.

The occupations of the colonists are suspended on account of the rains.

No. 2.

To the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society.
Copy of a Letter from the Agent of the Society, dated Montserado, September, 1822.

GENTLEMEN: Sensible how important and desirable to the Board the most exact information in relation to this Settlement

must prove at the present time, I have taken the trouble, in the midst of innumerable other cares and labours, and worn down with the fever of the climate, to prepare an abstract of my Journal from America, for your satisfaction, together with an exact and entire Transcript of the entry on the *Colonial Journal*, since our arrival. This journal, I judged fit to open on the day of my landing, and intend that a copy of it shall always remain in the Colony, open for public inspection and use, and a duplicate agreeing with the former, even to the paging, be from time to time sent home to the Board, as the best, and only effectual means of keeping them fully informed of what passes in their Settlement.

A reference to those journals renders it useless to enlarge in any other form of communication.

Had I found any other Agent present, I intended to devote a large part of my time during the continuance of the brig here, to a particular survey of the Cape, harbour, river, coasts, natural history, and native tribes of the country. But all the information I send, is necessarily general, and consequently must prove unsatisfactory.

But should God, in his goodness, preserve me to send, or return by another vessel visiting this country from America, I pledge myself to the Board, to supply, in some measure, the deficiency of the information furnished by the present conveyance.

Permit me here to add a few particulars as they occur :

The whole Cape (by Cape I mean a promontory of 4 miles in extent,) is of nearly equal elevation throughout the whole extent, running in a N. Westerly and S. Easterly direction, and terminating in a double, or bifurcated point. The river washes the N. side of this promontory two miles before it falls into the sea ; and its width from the river and sea on the N. side to the ocean South, is from 2 miles to 3-4 mile. The acclivity from the N. side is abrupt, the descent towards the South, gentle, and near the sea contains an excellent tract of table land.—The whole of this Cape, except the alluvial table land on the south side, is of volcanic origin. Two kinds of

stones only are found ; and these are abundant. The first is lava, in a state of partial decomposition, and exceedingly friable. The other is of the limestone species, and almost incapable of being split or reduced, with the heaviest hammers.

The wood on the Cape is as lofty, and nearly as heavy as that of our sturdiest forests in America. On the table lands it is lighter. Some extensive tracts, containing a rich soil are nearly covered with brush wood. Our force here can clear for planting, ten acres of it in a day. Whole forests here are strongly bound together, and rendered nearly or quite impervious by a profusion of rank vines of all sizes ; some nearly as large as a small cable, which creep, wind, and intertwine with other trees and themselves in all possible directions. Often a dozen trees must be separated from their trunks before *one* can be brought to the ground. } *Heavy*

Fish, in the river's mouth are very numerous, especially in the dry season : many of them are large—all that I have seen, excellent. We need another seine ; the old one being nearly gone.

Every day I bless anew that favouring Providence, which eventually led your Agents to establish the Settlement on Cape Montserado. Not an hour have I spent here without feeling the refreshing and salutary influences of a fresh breeze from the ocean. The Settlement can never be without it. When comfortable habitations are built, a foreigner would endanger his health by a residence here, no more than by spending the same time in sailing down the coast. I am confident we neither have experienced nor shall experience, more sickness on shore, than we should, lying off the coast. The crew of the brig, although, (unfortunately for us) nearly seven miles distant, have suffered at least as much as we.—Could a person from America spend one week of the rainy season on this coast, on board a ship or ashore, he would find no difficulty as to the great cause of fever to new comers. In other parts of Africa it may be different : but on Montserado the cause of sickness is not marsh miasma, nor exhalations from the earth,

nor the influence of the sun, but an atmosphere loaded with oceans of vapour, surcharged, and more than saturated with moisture. For months this humid quality of the air receives not the least correction or abatement, day or night. In fact, we live in a bath during this season. Contrary to all former prejudices, I have indulged daily in the use of spirits, wine, and bark, for the purpose of giving tone to the system, and bracing it up against the relaxing influence of a soaked and watery atmosphere; and have found benefit from the practice.

I will only say of the healthiness of Montserado, that no situation in Western Africa can be more salubrious. The sea air does all that can be done for it in this climate. One peculiarity is, that the night air is nearly as pure as any other. The fevers with which our company has been visited have all been nearly of the same type; quotidian and tertian intermittent; rather of the putrescent than inflammatory character; commonly gentle in degree, and easily subdued by remedies. Such has been the character of the sickness, so far. The violent symptoms of the Sherbro fever have not, in a solitary case, manifested themselves.

The rapidity and luxuriance of vegetation here, the natives of temperate latitudes can scarcely imagine. I distributed a few handfuls of garden seeds on landing. Three days after, application was made to me for more seeds, and I was informed that those first distributed were above ground. A crop of beans now on the ground, grows, without supporters, 3 1-2 feet high. The pods are *on an average*, eleven inches long. The seed was brought from America. If the season be not too far advanced for planting, it will be the fault of the Colony, if they are ever without the greatest abundance and variety of vegetables.

I am very sorry to state that we have cleared and planted but a small quantity of land. It was a first object of attention to unload the brig. Before this was completed, that troublesome man George, began to collect his forces, and obliged us to employ the whole of our little force in constructing fortifica-

cations, mounting our guns, and patrolling the woods. Such are our employments at this date (6th Sept.) But we have now nearly completed our fence works; and I intend, with God's help, to put the people immediately on clearing and planting. A plentiful supply of vegetables, I believe, are secured to the present and any probable additional number of settlers that may come out. But another year must come round before we can cultivate rice and Indian corn enough to supply the Settlement with bread.

I now find the great advantage of having been bred a farmer.

It will perhaps be expected that I say something of the character and disposition of the people. The old stock, it is well known, have undergone so many siftings, that few unworthy characters can be supposed to remain. This I believe to be the fact. *Some* of them I would confidently class with the most deserving of men. Indolence, and a disposition to consider the Society as under a sort of obligation to do all for them, without any other return than their consenting to live, and fish, and hunt, and barter, in Africa, are faults which infect a few of the young men. The most effectual steps have been taken to correct this evil. The Society may rely on its cure, if possible, by inspiring better ideas; if necessary, by dropping the implicated individuals from the Society's lists. Nothing is lost to the strength of the Settlement by the dismissal of persons of this description. Take their rations, and you may hire three-fold the labour to be done by natives, which they could render. But I have found much more to applaud than to censure in these people. Of those recently arrived, the best hopes may be entertained: industry, sobriety, and piety characterize them generally. There is, I fear, one lazy individual among them; and one, who, for a mis step committed here, has had his name erased from the colonists, and only resides in the Settlement by suffrage.

Few circumstances are of more consequence to the Society, than to understand with precision, the advantages and disadvantages, of sending out settlers, and landing, at differ-

ent seasons of the year. The following is all I can say, with certainty on these points. When the Cape is a little more cleared away, and dry, airy, and substantial dwellings built, I do not conceive it a matter of the greatest importance, to the health of settlers, at what season they land here. The commencement of the rains would be the least favourable. But of any other season, there is little to choose. The constitution will be a little tried by the climate, in the course of the year, arrive when the settler may.

Houses of the description just named, will, with God's blessing, be erected early in the approaching dry season. As regards the landing, a vessel arriving in the rainy season, is sure to encounter the wind and swell from S. S. W: for more than three months, it has not varied three points from that quarter; nor will it, till the dry season begins, then it blows one half the twenty-four hours in the same direction, the other half off shore, directly from the opposite quarter. The constant S. S. W. winds roll an incessant swell on the beach.

There is but one safe and easy method of unloading a vessel arriving here in the rain; that is by transporting a part of her cargo to a small schooner, which ought always to lie here. The rest can be sent ashore, watching the opportunity, and selecting the calmest time. From the schooner, the stores may be got ashore as needed, or some of them may stay on board till the dry season. We have suffered great inconvenience, and incurred additional expense from the absence of both our schooners. A ship arriving between the months of October and March, both inclusive, will find safe and delightful anchorage near the shore, and send her smallest boats in, loaded to the water's edge, on any part of the beach. Better anchorage, or better landing cannot be desired.

Vessels of all descriptions, arriving here at any season of the year, should come to anchor as directed in the Journal, page 10, making the point of the Cape to bear S. E. or S. S. E. and never more than one mile distant, in from seven to six

teen fathoms. Here she must lie, if in the rainy season ; if in the dry, a pilot will bring her a mile nearer shore, in water of nearly the same depth.* These directions, if followed, will save cables, anchors, and infinite trouble. If an expedition is ready to leave America, I should never advise them to stay for the rainy season, although the preference is always to be given to the dry. A schooner here, would however obviate all difficulties.

The inquiry will be made, what does the Colony now need from home ? In reply—They are abundantly supplied with tools for one year, (I mean those now present) they have a fertile country before them. These are the main points. They have also every other necessary for six months. What we shall soonest need, will be some domestic and cheap woollen goods, for coats, and two or three hogsheads of long leafed tobacco, to buy rice, goats, &c. from the natives. Owing to the infancy of the establishment, and my anxiety to make improvements, we are obliged to employ more native labourers, than would otherwise be expedient. We get them for about four ounces of raw tobacco a day, they finding themselves. The construction of the fort, will swallow up a great amount of their labour. But it is a work which cannot be dispensed with. Till we have it, we shall every week be liable to suffer interruptions and insults. When completed, I fully believe, not a dog will move his tongue against us.

I am informed that George had collected a small force, say of 100 men, and intended to attack us the very night before we got our large guns over and posted, in different positions, in and near the Settlement : and that this circumstance entirely deterred him from the design ; as it was impossible to bring a man within cannon shot of the Settlement. This fact shows how necessary a commanding position, mounted

* Since this was written, Dr. Ayres has been informed that the sand-bar has been broken by the violence of the waves, and that vessels are now, or will soon be, enabled to sail up to the Settlement, where they will be sheltered by the lofty Cape.

with a good battery of guns, is to our safety and quiet, and how effectual it would prove to this end.

Were I to advise, I should give it as my opinion, that the next vessel which sails from America, should bring out,

1. Provisions, or Tobacco sufficient to *purchase* provisions for all new comers, for six months.

2. Agricultural tools, (axes, hoes, spades, bill-hooks, brush-scythes and pick-axes) enough for the same persons one year. Also three dozen axes, two dozen hatchets, and two dozen bill-hooks, also some stone hammers.

3. Domestic cottons, a plentiful supply, for *all* the settlers, white, checked and striped ; also, European coarse hemp and linen, for trowsers.

4. An inconsiderable additional supply of leather and shoe-thread.

5. Some groceries—as tea, molasses, sugar, flour, meal, wine, vinegar and spirits, for the Agents and sick.

6. As much money, as the Society chooses ; to buy rice, goats, fowls, &c. and hire labour, of the natives.

The Gentlemen of the Board, will expect me to say something of the hostility of the natives. There is not a king or head man, within 50 or 80 miles of us, who can arm, *properly*, 50 men. They are cowardly in the extreme, and have little control over their men. Besides, there is the same jealousy and political selfishness existing among them, which has served so much, to check the accumulation of power, and the prosecution of their ambitious schemes, among the different States of Europe. Not one of them, I fear, but is made up of perfidy, and wholly governed by his immediate views of interest. But most think it for their interest to let us alone, and suffer us to create them a market for the surplus produce of the country. Hundreds hope to teach their children English, and some of the arts of civilization, through our means. Others, have a terrific conception of our power, and that of our nation. Besides, no schemes of war, can be contrived, without coming to our ears for weeks before they can ripen. Troops of people come in from all the surrounding country,

with rice, goats, fowls, and vegetables, daily. They let us know all they hear, and foolish enough, much of it is too. All the movements of the natives must be first agreed upon in a noisy and protracted "palaver." It is morally certain, we shall not be taken by them on surprise : and with God's blessing, no force they can raise, will much injure us, if prepared for them. The general measures of the Society, ought not, I beg leave to say, to be in the least affected by the possible hostility of the natives. We use every precaution to guard against surprise, and employ every means of defence in our power ; and then lie down at night and sleep with as little apprehension of danger, as we should in America.

A good *Missionary*, a good *School-Master*, and a good *School-Mistress*, are more wanted here, than I fear, I can make the Board imagine. Aside from the most important of all the interests of the colonists, there is not a point in which our condition would not be improved, *materially improved*, by these instructors. I wish they might all be judicious, able, and pious white people.

The Board will perceive, by consulting the Journal, what arrangements I have made to supply the want of able instructors. They are the best that can be made, but lame, after all.

I must also refer to the Journal, for the By Laws and regulations, which I have seen fit to adopt. Several usages are there noticed, which I have felt it my duty to abolish. My reasons are given.

Your Obedient Servant,

J. ASHMUN.

No. 3.

Extract from Commodore Sir George R. Collier's second annual Report, in 1820, upon the Settlements on the African Coast.

Speaking of the American attempt to form an establishment at Sherbro, he observes—

"Cape Mount, or Montserado, would have held out different prospects, and would also have removed those feelings of jea-

lously so naturally excited from choosing a spot so closely connected with Sierra Leone. If ever the Sherbro shall become more healthful, it can only be useful to Sierra Leone.

“Had America, who, excepting Great Britain, appears more in earnest than any other nation, established her lately attempted Settlement at Cape Montserado, or even at Cape Mount, she would at least have secured a more healthful, and by far a more convenient spot than her late ill chosen one in the Sherbro. And an establishment by America, either at Cape Mount or Cape Montserado, would have afforded to the friends of humanity the most rational hopes, that in the immediate neighbourhood of the American Colony the demand for Slaves would have been checked, and thus a Settlement would have been formed, useful to the purposes of future civilization ; and from its actual, though distant, intercourse with the frontiers of Gaman and Ashantee, have opened the line for lucrative speculation to the American merchant, and with the additional advantage of doing so without interfering in any way with the increasing prosperity of the British Colony of Sierra Leone.

“Indeed, an American establishment at either of the points I have mentioned, with one by the British at Cape Palmas, would have formed a sufficiently connecting link to have realized the hope of the philanthropist, that Christianity would have been soon propagated north, south, and east, and slavery gradually abolished.”

No. 4.

Dr. Ayres' account of Regent's Town, Sierra Leone.

On the subject of the capability of the Negro, let us hear what facts declare ; let us hear the voice of Regent's Town. This town is situated at the foot of a mountain, about eight miles from Free Town, and was begun about seven years ago. It contains from twelve to fourteen hundred inhabitants, all captured Africans, taken since that time from slave vessels.

The writer of this article visited there about one year ago, and was most agreeably surprised at the order and improvement which was manifested. He arrived in the evening ; next morning being Sunday, not a person was to be seen in the streets ; a calmness reigned as solemn and profound as had done six years before, when nothing was heard in the wilderness but the softly creeping tread of the leopard when preparing to spring upon his prey. A few minutes before 8 A. M. the children of the school were arranged in a line, classed according to their mechanical occupation, each class dressed in a uniform proper to itself, with the master-workman at its head, who was responsible for the behaviour of his class. When the time arrived for morning prayer, this interesting group of two hundred, moved in order to their seats in the church. There were about five hundred in all who attended morning prayer in the church. After they had retired from church in the same order in which they entered, there was no more seen of them until the bell rang at the regular hour of worship. At once, as though the whole village had been moved by a magic spring, there was seen between twelve and fourteen hundred in the street, cleanly and decently clad with the Bible under their arms, moving towards the church. I perceived issuing from the mountain about a dozen young men, proceeding Indian file, with their Bibles under their arms. On enquiring who they were, I was informed they were scholars from their classical school ; they had been selected for their piety and superiour attainments, and were preparing to return to their native land as Missionaries, to declare the joyful tidings of their emancipation to their benighted countrymen. They had made a progress in the study of the languages, which would not disgrace the students of our most boasted seminaries. It was an occasion of this kind that caused a British Admiral to exclaim, " See !! Behold what religion can do." It casts an additional grandeur and solemnity over those scenes, to reflect that it is only years since the late Rev. John Newton was roaming over a part of these grounds, a slave to a savage, and himself the

“fellest of the fell,” and that now his inimitable hymns are here wafted to the portals of Heaven in their own native language. Let him who is disposed to deny the Negro the common faculties which are possessed by the rest of Adam’s race, reflect upon these things.

No. 5.

Judge Kilgour’s letter, making an offer of certain Slaves to the Society.

Georgetown, February 17th, 1823.

DEAR SIR : In a late conversation with Mr. Mortimer M’Ilhany, of Loudon County, Virginia, touching the Colonization Society, its objects, prospects and usefulness, he signified his wish to dispose of his Negroes according to the plan proposed by them ; and I beg leave now, through you, in his behalf, to make to the society the proposition to receive them. They have not yet been consulted on the subject, but he has no doubt but they can be induced to settle upon the shores of their ancestors ; and he is anxious to have the aid of the Society in carrying into effect that object. He thinks that his mother and aunt would unite with him in the plan, and the three together hold forty or fifty Negroes. He desires to be informed of the present condition of the Society, and whether they have or will adopt any plan of proceeding likely at an early period to further his views and wishes with regard to his slaves. I am, dear sir, yours, very respectfully,

CHAS. J. KILGOUR.

FRANCIS S. KEY, ESQR. *Georgetown, Columbia.*

No. 6.

The following letter from the Committee of the Society of Christian Morals in Paris, to the President of the Massachusetts Peace Society, with the accompanying document,

was transmitted by Rev. Noah Worcester, D. D. to the President of the Massachusetts Society to aid in the suppression of the Slave Trade ; and they are now published by direction of the Managers of that Society.

[TRANSLATION.]

SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN MORALS.

Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

SIR—Nothing which interests humanity is foreign to Peace Societies. We have therefore the honour to inform you, that the Society of Christian Morals, whose design and labours are known to you, has appointed a Committee to devise the most suitable means of furthering the effectual Abolition of the Slave-trade.

We think that the religious and philanthropic undertaking is entitled to the good wishes of the respectable society over which you preside. We have, therefore, the honour to send you twenty-five copies of the Regulations of the Committee, requesting you to communicate it to the members of the Peace Society. We trust that you will second our endeavours by your counsel and encouragement ; and we shall receive with gratitude, any communications from you, relating to the object of our labours. Accept, Sir, the assurances of our high consideration.

TURCKHEIM, *Vice President.*

CH. REMUSAT, *Secretary.*

To the President of the Massachusetts Peace Society

[TRANSLATION.]

SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN MORALS.

Committee for the Abolition of the Slave-trade.

The Society of Christian Morals, formed under the authority of the government, and having for its object, the application of the principles of Christianity to the social relations of life, being convinced that nothing is more contrary

to Christian morality than the continuance of that odious and illicit commerce known under the name of the *Slave-trade* ; and touched by the evils and cruelties without number, that are occasioned by a traffick which makes humanity groan, and degrades those who are engaged in it, as well as those who are its victims, and is a dishonour to any civilized nation that shall any longer tolerate its existence, has chosen a committee of its members, charged with endeavouring, by every means in its power of a moral nature, to hasten the effectual abolition of the slave trade, which is formally prohibited by our laws, and condemned by conscience, but is continued by cupidity.

The members who compose the Committee are the *Baron de Turckheim*, member of the Chamber of Deputies and Vice President of the Society of Christian Morals ; *Count de Las-teyre*, Vice President of the Society of Christian Morals ; *Marron*, President of the consistory of the reformed church ; *Laffon de Ladebat*, *Llorente*, *Baron de Stael*, *Wildcr*, *Vernes*, *Wilks*, *Charles Coqueral*, and *Charles de Remusat* ; and Corresponding members in London, *Joseph Price* of the Society of Friends, and *General Macaulay*.

The committee, convinced that there will be found in reason and general philanthropy the most powerful auxiliaries to their labours, do not fear to make an appeal to the public interest for a cause which is dear to religion, to morals and to humanity. They have in consequence determined to print and make public their rules ; which are as follows :

ART. 1. The committee appointed to consider what are the most proper means, within the powers and objects of the society, to accelerate and complete the abolition of the slave-trade, shall consist of twelve members, chosen by nominations submitted by the Council of administration ; they to conform themselves to the general rules of the Society.

ART. 2. The committee will collect all the circumstances calculated to produce, to increase and to propagate a horror for that unworthy traffick, they will publish or cause to be published, with the approbation of the Society, either in the journals of the society, or in other ways the facts, or the ideas, which shall appear to be suited to combat the prejudices and passions which have hitherto supported or protected a

commerce alike contrary to morals and to law ; they will encourage the composition of such works as will be useful to the abolition, and the translation of foreign works on the same subject, where the design and tendency of them is ascertained ; they will make known, and second every enterprise which shall be carried into effect with the intention of annihilating directly or indirectly the slave-trade. The publications intended to appear in the Journal of the Society shall first be submitted to the committee of publication.

ART. 3. The committee is therefore authorized to open and carry on a correspondence, 1st in France and in Europe with such societies and persons as are devoted to the same work, or are disposed to concur in it, in order to profit by their counsels, their example and their assistance ; 2d, beyond the continent of Europe in order to confirm and encourage the progress of exertions for the abolition of the slave-trade and the amelioration of the condition of the blacks, in different parts of the globe, and especially to animate and assist the philanthropic establishments on the coast of Africa for the civilization of the blacks.

ART. 4. The result of this correspondence, of which an account shall be rendered to the council of the society, shall be made public, either by insertion in the journal of the Society, or in some other way.

ART. 5. The Society will accept contributions, offered by a member of the Society, or by any other person, appropriated specifically for the abolition of the slave-trade. The committee is also authorized to receive subscriptions in money or other offerings for the same object. The different sums contributed will be placed in the hands of the treasurer of the Society, who will keep a separate account of them.

ART. 6 The expenditures judged useful by the committee, shall be supplied only out of the special fund, except by express authority of the council of administration.

ART. 7. Besides the ordinary communications of the committee with the council of administration, there shall be once a year, a report of all their proceedings, as well as a statement of the most interesting circumstances which have come under their cognizance in the course of the year. This report shall be added to the general report of the Society, and read with it at the annual general meeting conformably to the 17th rule.

The committee will receive subscriptions for any sum which shall be offered to them, and communications from any person who shall be disposed to collect subscriptions or enter into correspondence with them. Letters should be addressed *free of expense* to *M. M. les Presidents and Membres de la Societe de la Morale Chretienne*, rue Taranne, No. 12.

The amount of the subscriptions will be received at the office of the Society, and by *M. Dominique Andre*, banker, treasurer of the Society *rue Cadet No. 9*.

No. 7.—Sept. 7, 1822.

The adjourned meeting on the subject of an Auxiliary Colonization Society, and of a Society to aid in the suppression of the Slave Trade, was held on Wednesday evening, *George Blake*, Esq, in the chair, *Mr. Lewis Tappan*, Esq. Secretary, in the absence of the Rev. Mr. Frothingham, who acted as Secretary at the previous meeting. The following Report was presented by the committee and read, and after an interesting discussion of the whole subject, was unanimously accepted.

Report of the Committee appointed at Boston to consult about the expediency of affording aid to the Colonization Society.

The Committee appointed to consider the expediency of forming a Society for the purpose of aiding the funds of the Colonization Society, or assisting in the suppression of the slave trade, have paid such attention to the subject referred to them as the time and their opportunities would permit, and respectfully submit the following Report :

The importance of providing some remedy for the evils arising from the rapid relative increase of the black population in some portions of our country is becoming every year more serious. It is now well known that where a slave population abounds their ratio of increase is much greater than that of the people among whom they live.—Hence the time cannot be far distant, when their numbers in some of the States and their power, will predominate over that of those who hold them in servitude, unless some mode is devised of diminishing their numbers, or some provision made for removing the surplus portion of them.

It was in the expectation of furnishing, in some measure, a remedy for these evils, or at least of diminishing their danger, that the American Society for Colonizing the free people of colour of the United States was established. This Society has been in operation nearly six years, and its affairs appear to have been conducted with much enterprise and zeal, and as your Committee believe, in a spirit of enlightened Christian benevolence.

Were the objects of this Society extended no farther than to the Colonization of such people of colour in our country as are already free, or who will become free in the ordinary course of events, they would not, in the view of the Committee, be such as to excite that deep interest among us which is necessary to secure a very active co-operation. It might indeed afford some advantages to that unhappy people to remove them from their present degraded state, to a condition more free from temptations to vice, and more favourable to moral and intellectual improvement ; and it would doubtless confer a benefit upon the community from which they are taken. And if through the medium of a Colony thus established, the arts of civilized life and the blessings of Christianity can be introduced among a people who are ignorant of both, the good that may be done may be greatly increased. But the accomplishment of these objects, valuable as they are, appears too remote and of too difficult an attainment to admit of their enlisting our feelings very ardently in the cause. Other objects of benevolence press upon us with more urgent solicitations and more immediate prospects of usefulness.

But if, while these purposes are accomplished, the Colonization of the free people of colour will aid effectually in the suppression of the Slave Trade, so as to lead to the entire abolition of that detestable traffick ; and at the same time afford such encouragement to the emancipation of slaves as to prepare the way for the gradual extermination of slavery, it would become an object worthy of the attention and assistance of the whole Christian world.

That such are the designs and expectations of those who are most active in managing the concerns of the American Colonization Society, the Committee have the fullest confidence. The Committee are not prepared to give an opinion how far these expectations are likely to be realized.—If a Colony decidedly and actively hostile to the Slave Trade can be maintained on the coast of Africa, and especially if several could be supported on different parts of that coast, much might doubtless be done to aid cruisers in the pursuit of slave

ships, by furnishing supplies, and by giving information of their places of rendezvous. We are also assured that there are proprietors of slaves who are desirous of emancipating them, and that many will be thus emancipated as soon as an asylum shall be suitably prepared for them, and the means provided of transporting them to it.

We have no means of ascertaining how extensively such a disposition prevails among the holders of slaves. But there is reason to apprehend that it is at present limited to a very small portion of them. The events of the last two or three years have furnished melancholy proof that the great body of people in the slave holding states are very little disposed to relinquish any of the advantages which their slaves afford them. That there are exceptions to this feeling we are fully persuaded, and we hope there are many. It is only from the belief which the Committee very cordially entertain, that the active members of the American Colonization Society are perfectly disposed to frame their measures with reference to the *entire* suppression of the Slave Trade, and to a gradual and prudent, but complete emancipation of those now held in slavery, that we can regard the society as having any claim upon the sympathy or assistance of the people of New-England.

At the same time there are other modes by which assistance can be given towards suppressing the Slave Trade, without losing sight of the objects which have been mentioned.

A Society is particularly needed to aid in prosecuting those who are concerned in carrying on this trade. By combining the influence and exertions of its members, this purpose may be accomplished much more effectually than by individuals alone.

The Committee would therefore respectfully recommend, that a Society be formed for the general purpose of assisting in the suppression of the Slave Trade ; that a subscription be opened to provide funds for the proposed Society ; and that the government of the Society be fully authorized to make such a disposal of the funds as they shall judge most

conducive to the object of its institution. If, on further attention to the subject, the Managers of the Society shall be satisfied that the operations of the American Colonization Society are favourable to the suppression of the Slave Trade, they will be disposed to aid them as far as their funds will permit; while they will not neglect any other means, that may present themselves, of accomplishing that object. As, however, there may be some who are prepared to contribute at once to the funds of the American Colonization Society, the Committee would propose that the subscription should be so arranged as to leave it to the option of each subscriber, either to appropriate the amount of his subscription directly or indirectly to that object, or commit it to the disposal of the government of this Society.

E. HALE JR. per Order.

The Committee also presented a draft of a Constitution of the proposed Society, which was adopted, as follows; and it was voted that the blank in the second article be filled by the Managers.

CONSTITUTION.

Of the Massachusetts' Society to aid in the Suppression of the Slave Trade.

Art. I. The Society shall be called "The Massachusetts Society to aid in the Suppression of the Slave Trade;" and its objects shall be, either to assist the American Colonization Society, or to contribute towards suppressing the Slave Trade by such other means as the Managers shall judge best.

Art. II. Every person who shall subscribe and pay annually a sum not less than dollars, shall be a member of the Society.

Art. III. The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice-President, Corresponding and Recording Secretary, and a Treasurer, who shall also be Managers, and five additional Managers. The Board of Managers shall have power to elect honorary Vice-Presidents.

Art. IV. Every subscriber shall be permitted to appropriate the amount of his subscription, either to be paid over to the American Colonization Society, or to be left at the disposal of this Society, as he shall direct in his subscription.

Art. V. All the funds of the Society not specially appropriated, as described in the preceding article. shall be subject to the order of the Board of Managers, to be disposed of as they shall judge most conducive to the objects of the Society.

The Society was then organized by the election of the following Officers :—

Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, *President*,
 GEORGE BLAKE, Esq. *Vice President*,
 Rev. S. F. JARVIS, D. D. *Corresponding Secretary*.
 BRADFORD SUMNER, Esq. *Recording Secretary*.
 SAMUEL H. WALLEY, Esq, *Treasurer*.

MANAGERS.

RICHARD SULLIVAN, Esq. E. HALE, Jr. M. D.
 MR. WILLIAM STURGIS, JOHN TAPPAN, Esq.
 BRADFORD SUMNER, Esq.

It was then voted that the Report and Constitution be published in the public papers, and the meeting adjourned.

No. 8.

We have, through the kindness of General C. F. Mercer, had access to some very interesting papers, recently received by the British Minister, from England, on the subject of the Slave Trade. They were printed the last March by order of the House of Commons. Circumstances do not permit us to select for publication all that we could desire from these valuable documents. We publish, however, enough to prove that the measures adopted at present by the maritime powers of Europe, can never effect the abolition of the Slave Trade ; and, indeed, that nothing less than the unanimous resolution of all the Christian powers to regard this traffick as a violation of the law of nations, will bring it to a termination.

Copy of a letter from Governor Sir Charles Mac Carthy, to Henry Goulbourn, Esqr. dated Sierra Leone, 14th January, 1822. Four enclosures : referring to his observations on the subject of the report of the British Commissaries to Lord Londonderry, stating the increase of the Slave Trade, and enclosing a memorandum on that subject, with a request that Mr. Goulbourn will lay the same before Lord Bathurst.

ENCLOSURE.—*Memorandum of the present actual state of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa, and its increase.*

Government House, Sierra Leone, 14th January, 1822.

“ SIR : Referring to the observations I had the honour of addressing to you in June last, on the subject of the report of

the British Commissaries in the mixed commission to the Marquis of Londonderry, I sincerely lament that my forebodings as to the extent of the traffick in slaves, have been fully realized ; that more slaves were carried from Africa in the course of last year than in the preceding year. Deeming it a part of my duty, however painful it may be, to communicate such information as I may obtain on this important subject, I have now the honour of transmitting, herewith enclosed, a memorandum on that subject, which I beg you may lay before Earl Bathurst. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

C. MAC CARTHY.

HENRY GOULBOURN, M. P.

2. *Memorandum alluded to in Sir Charles Mac Carthy's letter, 14th January, 1822.*

The official communications of Sir George Collier will have made his Majesty's government acquainted with the state of the Slave Trade, up to the period of that officer's departure from the coast ; it is therefore proposed to limit the *present remarks to the actual state of the traffick during the last six months*. Of the illicit trade on the leeward coast, a very correct estimate may be formed, on the results of the several cruises made during the above period by his Majesty's ships on that station.

In the months of July and August, his Majesty's ship *Myrmidon* cruised in the bight of Biafra, and in the course of a few weeks, sixteen slave vessels were boarded and examined by her ; of this, only one, the *Adelaide*, (a Portuguese schooner,) came within the provisions of the public conventions. She was brought to this Colony, and condemned in the Mixed Court.

His Majesty's ship *Pheasant* was also employed about the same period on the leeward station ; this ship at Whydah, (formerly an English fort,) and Badagry, found six slavers under Portuguese colours. These vessels, equipped with boilers, irons, water casks, &c. had no slaves on board, and of course could not be detained. The slave factories in the Ca-

labar and at Logos, were likewise visited in July and August, by his Majesty's brig Snapper. At these places, one Spaniard, six Portuguese, and six French vessels, were examined, (as per enclosed list.) The Conceicao, a Portuguese schooner, having slaves on board, was brought to this Colony for adjudication.

The next cruise of the Myrmydon on the leeward station, was equally conclusive as to the increased state of this horrible traffick. Proceeding to the southward, as far as the Bonny, Captain Leeke found that river swarming with slave vessels under different flags ; eight bore the colours of his Most Christian Majesty, (as per memorandum,) and of these, four had their inhuman cargoes on board.

The circumstances of a heavy duty or custom becoming due to the Chiefs of Bonny and Calabar, on every slave ship when fully laden, necessarily induces them to keep a kind of registry of the different vessels ; numeral lists from these rivers, and founded on the said registry, frequently come to this Colony ; but from their magnitude, had been deemed exaggerated and incredible.

Captain Leeke, however, in the month of October, ascertained, on good authority, that the number of slave cargoes taken out of the Bonny, from July in the preceding year up to that time, was actually one hundred and ninety. A similar return from Calabar for a like period, made a total of one hundred and sixty-two.

The line of coast from this Colony to Cape Mount, was the scene of the Snapper's cruise : in October Lieut. Knight, her commander, in the course of ten days fell in with nine slave vessels. Of this number eight were French, (per enclosure,) the other under Dutch colours, with a cargo of slaves on board, escaped.

The Galinas, a notorious slave factory not far to leeward of this Colony, is rarely indeed without slave ships : the latest accounts state that there are three vessels under French colours now lying there. From Shehan, a place still nearer us, a large slave vessel, fully laden, and under the same flag sailed within the last ten days.

On the foregoing facts, as to the state of the leeward Slave Trade, it would be quite superfluous for me to offer any comment : wherever His Majesty's ships touched, they found that criminal traffick in full activity : nor is it difficult to assume that it is carried on with redoubled ardour during the occasional and necessary absence of our vessels from their cruizing ground.

The renewal of the traffick in human beings on the windward coast, must be viewed by every friend to humanity with deep regret ; accompanied as that renewal has been, with cruel wars amongst the hitherto peaceful natives. The arrival of a slave ship in any of the adjacent rivers is the signal for attack : the hamlets of the natives are burned, and the miserable survivors carried and sold to the slave factors.

The line of coast from the Island of Goree to the mouth of the Gambia, and from thence to the Portuguese establishments of the Cacheo and Bissao would seem to be the principal seat of this guilty traffick to windward. From this quarter, in addition to the ordinary exportation in large vessels, a very extensive carrying trade is kept up with the Cape de Verd Islands, principally by the small craft belonging to Goree and Senegal.

The slave traders at Cacheo have lately given their traffick in the Rio Grande a new feature of barbarous atrocity. They visit rivers in armed sloops and boats, landing during the night and carrying off as many as possible of the truly wretched inhabitants. An appeal to this Colony has been lately made on behalf of three villages lately ravaged in this manner.

The fine rivers Munez and Pongas are entirely under the control of a renegado European and American slave traders. Most of the slaves sent from the former river find their way to Cacheo and the Cape Verds, from whence it is said they are shipped as domestics to the Brazils.

A French schooner, M. Dees master, took on board 95 slaves ; and a Spaniard, commanded by one Morales, also shipped 160 some time since in the Rio Pongas. This river, not long ago, was considered too near the Colony to be approached with impunity by slave vessels.

A general idea of the traffick to windward, may therefore be formed from the circumstance, that latterly a great number of slaves have been exported from the Pongas, and that slave vessels may always be found lying there.

Since the departure of Sir Charles MacCarthy for the Isles de Loss, the above statement has been fully corroborated by the return of His Majesty's brig of war *Thistle*, commanded by Lieut. Hagan, from a visit to the Rio Pongas. The *Thistle* has brought in, under seizure, the schooner "*Rosalia*," Don Francisco Freyne, late master, having on board a cargo of 60 slaves, bound to the Havannah. It is supposed that she had no regular papers, as the master, who has succeeded Freyne said she had none at all, and he refused to come down to Sierra Leone. The *Rosalia* had lost eight of her crew in the Pongas; she sailed apparently under Spanish colours; but as her case is now before the Court of Mixed Commission, it is not possible to give any thing material relating to her. Lieut. Hagan, however, confirms the fact of the Slave Trade, being rather increased than diminished.

It appears from the above memorandum, that in little more than one year, from two rivers only on the windward coast of Africa, a region where the Slave Trade is interdicted by the decision of all the maritime powers of Europe, 352 cargoes of slaves have been taken. But is this traffick mitigated in its character? No. More terrible are its cruelties—darker its horrors. The Slave Trader now often selects a small fast sailing vessel, and because the proportion of his gain is so much increased by a crowded cargo, if he escapes detection, while the proportion of his loss is so little augmented if he is captured, he fills its whole capacity with the victims of his relentless avarice. It is stated by Sir George Collier, in his Report dated the 27th of December, 1821, that in two small vessels "The one only 73, the other about 160 tons, captured by the boats of the *Tartar* and *Thistle*, there were 700 slaves."

In March, 1821, Sir George Collier captured, in the river Bonny, the *Anna Maria*, a Spanish schooner, from Cuba, La Roche master, having on board more than 450 slaves. The males, with the exception of those styled domestic slaves, (whose duty it is to wait upon others,) were all linked in shackles by the leg in pairs, some of them bound in cords, and several had their arms and legs so lacerated by the tightness of this restraint, that the flesh was completely worn through.

Papers published last March, by order of the House of Commons.

Concerning the extent of this odious and bloody trade, we beg leave to adduce one or two more quotations from these interesting papers, just printed in London.

Extract from the Marquis of Londonderry's letter to Sir Charles Stuart, dated March 26, 1822.

“ There seems scarcely a spot on the coast, which does not show traces of the Slave Trade, with all its attendant horrors. The arrival of a slave ship in any of the rivers on the windward coast, is the signal for war between the natives. The hamlets of the weaker party are burnt, and the miserable survivors are carried off and sold as slaves.”

We have the following paragraph in Sir George Collier's Report, dated the 27th December, 1821.

“ Witnessing as I have for the last three years, the Slave Trade in all its horrors, it would give me the sincerest satisfaction if I could with truth report that it was really declining ; but if I should do so, I should only mislead their Lordships, and as I think, thereby compromise my own character. It is true that certain powers have abandoned the trade entirely, and others have professed, and even engaged, to confine it to within certain limits ; but notwithstanding, my full persuasion is, this infamous traffick in amount is no less than it was ; and numberless opportunities of personal observation justify my saying, that in the manner of conducting it, in cruelty and brutality it cannot be surpassed.”

It is evident from these facts, that the present system of

operations to suppress the Slave Trade, can never effect the end for which it is designed.* Before this traffick will terminate, it must be pronounced by the whole Christian world an offence against the law of nations, and those who engage in it must be pursued as the worst enemies of the human race. As long as ruffian adventurers can take refuge under the flag of any great maritime power, so long will Africa bleed under the rod of injustice, and sink under the weight of her chains. The British government, for its noble and persevering exertions against the Slave Trade, merits the commendation and the thanks of all men. England has covered herself with unfading glory. But though she has done much, and is disposed to do more, all her efforts seem not even to have diminished the evil which they were intended to remedy. We trust, however, that Great Britain "will be among the first to imitate the example set by our own nation, in making this trade piracy, which, (to use the language of the committee of the African Institution in their very interesting report of the 8th of May, 1821,) must sooner or later become a part of the universal code of the civilized world."

We record with feelings of the highest gratification, the resolution adopted yesterday, (28th February,) almost unanimously, by the House of Representatives of the United States; a resolution, which, while it confers honour on our country, will, we believe, do something to alleviate the miseries of a people who seem born but to suffer.

On motion of the Hon. C. F. Mercer ;

Resolved, "That the President of the United States be requested to enter upon, and to prosecute, from time to time, such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe and America, as he may deem expedient for the effectual abolition of the African Slave Trade, and its ultimate denunciation, as piracy, under the law of nations, by the consent of the whole civilized world."

The main question, on agreeing to this resolution, was taken by yeas and nays—yeas 131, nays 9.

* Only 20 vessels have been condemned by the Court of Mixed Commission.

We regret, that unavoidable circumstances, prevent our inserting the whole of the able and powerful speech made to sustain this resolution, by the honourable gentleman who offered it. We are happy, however, to introduce the following extracts- After having adverted to the fact of the present introduction of slaves into the southern territories of the United States, "Sir," said Mr. M. "the United States cannot be insensible to the danger of inundating with new floods of this population, not only the islands on their southern border, but their own territory. I appeal to the generous feelings, as well as to the sound policy of the south, to avert this growing calamity. We have seen that this cannot be effected by the few vessels occasionally despatched to the coast of Africa, by the United States, with instructions to search no vessels but such as bear the American flag. We know that amidst the sparse population of Florida, no measures of internal policy can prove more efficient.

"The resolution under consideration offers the only remedy. Let the Slave Trade be denounced, as piracy, by the consent of the maritime powers of Europe, and this new species of piracy, will disappear like every other from the face of the ocean. Mr. M. said, he was aware that objections had been taken to the legal propriety of affixing this denomination to this offence- The law of nations derives its authority from the consent of nations. and that consent may make piracy of any offence on the high seas. But what is piracy? Is it robbery on the high seas, *animo furandi*, without colour of law, without any commission from any recognized authority? And is it not robbery to seize, not the property of the man, but his person? To put his life to hazard in the pestilent hole of a slave ship, and in order, if he lives through the voyage, to consign him, and not himself only, but his latest posterity, to interminable slavery in an unknown land. It is ascertained that one-third of these unhappy beings perish, in their voyage from Africa to their destined market. Is it not as much murder, to poison the atmosphere of man as to poison his food, or to plunge a dagger in his heart. It is to kill him with the ag-

grivated horrors of a slow death, and to kill for the gratification of the most abandoned cupidity. It is robbery combined with murder, and may it not be justly pronounced by the concurrent voice of mankind to be piracy?" * * * * *

"Finally," said Mr. Mercer, "for the success of this experiment, the present time is most propitious. South America has furnished a market for slaves. Two years only have elapsed, since this House recognized the independence of the five Spanish provinces, now States of Mexico, Colombia, Buenos Ayres, Chili, and Peru; and in the course of the present session, the Executive, with the consent of the Senate, has deputed ministers to the several governments of these newly born empires. The instructions of these ministers are now preparing, and if, among them there shall be this resolution, backed by the approving voice of this house, will they deny this small boon it asks of their humanity, in return for the recognition of their sovereignty? In conclusion, Mr. M. implored the success of his cause from the humanity, he demanded it from the justice of the House."



No. 9.

HORROURS OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

Extracts from Queries proposed by Viscount Castlereagh, to, and answers of, the African Institution in London, December, 1816.

QUERIES 19, 20.

Has it not been found, that the trade is conducted with peculiar inhumanity and waste of life, by these illicit traders?

State the instances that have latterly occurred to illustrate the fact.

ANSWERS 19, 20.

Undoubtedly. The Slave ships are now crowded to excess, and the mortality is dreadful. The following are some of the instances which have come to our knowledge:—

1. The *Venus Havannera*, under Spanish colours, of the burden of about 180 tons, carried off from the river Bonny, 530 Slaves. When captured on her passage to the Havana, and carried into Tortola, the mortality was found to have amounted to 120,

2. *La Maniella*, a ship of the burden of 272 tons, sailed under the Spanish flag, and took on board in the river Bonny, 642 Slaves. The deaths on the passage to the West Indies, previous to her capture, amounted to 140.

3. The *Gertrudes*, a ship sailing under the Spanish flag, took on board upwards of 600 Slaves. This ship was taken while yet on the African coast, and brought to Sierra Leone for adjudication. But notwithstanding the short time that had elapsed since the Slaves were taken on board, such was the dreadful state of crowding, that about 200 died before the ship was brought in, or within a short time after her arrival; many, even of those who survived, were so much debilitated by their sufferings, as never to be likely to enjoy sound health.

4. *Nueva Constitucion*, a vessel under the Spanish flag, of only 30 tons burden, had on board 81 Slaves; but having been brought in, within a few days after the Slaves had been taken on board, the bad effects which must have followed such a state of crowding on a very long passage, were prevented.

5. The *Maria Primeira*, a ship under Portuguese colours, took on board upwards of 500 Slaves. This number was reduced to 403, in consequence of extreme crowding, before she was brought into Sierra Leone; and nearly 100 more died soon after, in consequence of the diseases contracted on board.

6. Portuguese brig, *San Antonio*, of 120 tons, took on board 600 Slaves. When captured, although she had only sailed 80 leagues, 30 Slaves had already died; and many more were found to be in a dying state, and died soon after. The capturing officer took 150 of the Slaves on board his own ship, to prevent the almost universal mortality he

apprehended. When he first went on board the Slave ship, he found a dead body, in a state of absolute putridity, lying among the sick.

7. The Spanish ship *Carlos*, under 200 tons burden, took on board 512 Negroes, in addition to a crew consisting of 34. About 80 Slaves had died previous to her capture, and the rest were in a most deplorable state. Many more instances might be added ; but these may be considered as exhibiting the ordinary rate of mortality on board the ships engaged in the illicit Slave Trade.

The number of Slaves imported from the 1st of January, 1817, to the 1st of January, 1818, into Rio de Janeiro, in forty-two ships, was 18,033. A much larger number, viz. 20,075 had been embarked, but 2042 had died in the Middle passage. One vessel, the *Protector* had taken on board 807 slaves at Mozambique, of whom 339 died during the voyage.

On the 9th of May, 1818, Mr. Chamberlain writes, that the Slave-trade had now increased beyond all former example ; twenty-five vessels having arrived since the beginning of the year, none bringing less, and many of them more than 400 of these unhappy beings, which made the importation at least ten thousand during the preceding four months.

The number of Slaves imported into Rio de Janeiro, from January 1, to December 31, 1818, was 10,802. The number embarked had been 22,231, in fifty-three ships, of whom 2429 had died on the passage. One vessel, the *Pero-la de Norta*, from Mozambique, lost 161 out of 421 ; another, the *Uniao Feliz*, from Mozambique, lost 229 out of 659 ; a third, the *St. Jose Diligente*, from Kilimane, lost 238 out of 464.

The ship the *Rodeur*, Captain B——, of two hundred tonsburden, left Havre, the 24th of January, 1819, for the coast of Africa, and reached its destination the 14th of March, following, anchoring at Bonny, in the river Calabar. The crew consisting of twenty two men, enjoyed good health during the outward voyage, and during their stay at Bonny where they remained till the 6th of April. Fifteen days after they had set sail on the return voyage, they remarked, that the Negroes, who, to the number of one hundred and sixty, were crowded together (*entasses*) in the hold and between decks, had contracted a considerable redness of the eyes, which spread with singular rapidity. No great attention was at first paid to these symptoms, which were thought to be caused only by the want of air in the hold and by the scarcity of water which had already begun to be felt. At this time they were limited to eight ounces of water a day, which quantity was afterwards reduced to the half of a wine glass. By the advice of M. Maignan, the surgeon of the ship, the Negroes, who had hitherto remained shut up in the hold, were brought upon deck in succession, in order that they might breathe a purer air. But it became necessary to abandon this expedient, salutary as it was, because that many of those Negroes, affected with *Nostalgia*, (meaning the passionate desire to revisit their native land) threw themselves into the sea, locked in each other's arms.

The captain caused several of the Negroes, who were prevented in the attempt to throw themselves overboard, to be shot and hung, in the hope that so terrible a spectacle might deter the others from a similar conduct. But even this severity proved unavailing, and the Slaves were again confined entirely to the hold.

The disease which had spread itself so rapidly and frightfully among the Africans, soon began to infect all on board, and to create alarms for the crew.

The sufferings of the people, and the number of the blind, augmented every day ; so that the crew, previously alarmed by the apprehension of a revolt among the Negroes, were

seized with the farther dread of not being able to make the West Indies, if the only sailor who had hitherto escaped the contagion, and on whom their whole hope rested, should become blind like the rest. This calamity had actually befallen the *Leon*, a Spanish vessel, which the Rodeur met with, on her passage, and the whole of whose crew, having become blind, were under the necessity of altogether abandoning the direction of their ship. They entreated the charitable interference of the Rodeur : but the seamen of this vessel could not either quit her to go on board the *Leon*, on account of the cargo of Negroes, nor receive the crew of the *Leon* on board the Rodeur, in which there was scarcely room for themselves. The difficulty of taking care of so large a number of sick, in so confined a space, and the total want of fresh meat and of medicines, made them envy the fate of those who were about to become the victims of a death which seemed to them inevitable, and the consternation was general.

The *Leon* has not been heard of since, and doubtless was lost.

The Rodeur reached Guadaloupe on the 21st of June, 1819, her crew being in a most deplorable condition. Of the Negroes, thirty-nine had become perfectly blind, twelve had lost an eye, and fourteen were affected with blemishes more or less considerable. Of the crew, twelve lost their sight entirely, among whom was the surgeon ; five became blind of one eye, one of them being the captain ; and four were partially injured." Of the captain, it is added,* that " he did not cease in the midst of the greatest danger, to lavish his attentions on the Negroes and the sailors, with a zeal and devotedness which exceed all praise." !!

Such is the account of the voyage of the Rodeur, as given by M. Guillie. But in this account, one of the most horrid circumstances connected with the transaction is wholly omitted, probably because it illustrated no medical principle ; namely, the fact, that the Slaves who are stated to have become blind were thrown into the sea and drowned.

* French Journal.

In the month of September, 1820, the *Sieur Lemoine*, master and owner of the schooner *l’Espior*, or the *Bamboche*, left the Mauritius, under English colours, shaping his course towards the coasts of Madagascar and of the Mozambique. He fell in with a Portuguese vessel, laden with Negroes and gold dust. An eagerness and thirst of gain seized upon his soul : he run along-side of the Portuguese vessel, and immediately killed the mate by a musket shot : having boarded her, he soon obtained possession of the vessel thus attacked ; and his first questions were addressed to a Portuguese Colonel, aged 50, of whom he enquired where the money and gold dust were deposited. After this short interrogatory, Lemoine purposely stepped aside, and a man named Reineur, who was behind him, with a pistol blew out the unfortunate Colonel’s brains. But these crimes were not enough to satisfy their savage inhumanity. The master of the captured vessel, alarmed by the rapid succession of these massacres, threw himself overboard, in order to escape a more immediate death. Vain hope ! the fury of Lemoine and his accomplices were not yet allayed. They pursued him in a boat, and, having soon overtaken him, they cut him on the head with a sabre. The unfortunate man, feeling himself wounded, caught hold, in order to support himself, of the boat in which his murderers were, who, profiting by this last effort of despair, had the dastard cruelty to run a sword into his throat, the point of which came out at the side of their victim : the body disappeared, and they returned on board fatigued, but not satisfied with murders ! They shut up in the hold, the remaining Portuguese sailors, and after having taken off the rich cargo, they scuttled the ship and sunk her with the crew they had thus shut up. Such is the Slave-trader.

A female slave having refused food, being asked by the Interpreter, what she wanted, replied “ *nothing but to die.* ”

Sir George Collier's Report for 1820.

On this distressing subject, so revolting to every well regulated mind, I will add. that such is the merciless treatment of the Slaves, by the persons engaged in the traffick, that no fancy can picture the horror of the voyage ; crowded together so as not to give the power to move, linked one to the other by the leg, never unfettered while life remains, or till the iron shall have fretted the flesh almost to the bone, forced under a deck, as I have seen them, *not thirty inches in height*, breathing an atmosphere the most putrid and pestilential possible, with little food and less water, subject also to the most severe punishment, at the caprice or fancy of the brute who may command the vessel. It is to me a matter of extreme wonder, that any of these miserable people live the voyage through ; many of them, indeed, perish on the passage, and those who remain to meet the shore, present a picture of wretchedness language cannot express.

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1822.	\$	cts.	Collections in New-England, by Mr. Gurley.
April 30. Mrs. Janet Lingan,	10	00	Rev. Mr. Patterson,..... 2 00
May 7. Aux. Society New-			A Lady from Waterville, Me.1 50
buryport, per Wm.			By Mr George Homer,..... 5 00
B. Bannister,.....	61	00	A friend,..... 50
Nov. 4. Do. Frederick co.			Collection in Exeter Parish,
Va per O. Waite,			Lebanon, Conn..... 7 85
jr.....	300	00	Ditto in Lebanon,.....13 84
Nov. 13. Ditto Jackson co.			Collection in Reverend Mr.
Geo. per W. Pen-			Hawe's Church, Hartford,
tecotst, Treasurer,	40	00	Conn..... 53 63½
1823.			Same place by subscription, 6 00
Jan. 6. Norfolk, Va.....	100	00	Donation,..... 3 00
Jan. 25. John Chew, for the			Mrs Sigourney,..... 1 00
following persons :			Miss Eaton,..... 5 00
Miss Mercer, ...	5		A Young Lady,..... 1 00
Jos. Wailer,....	1		Collection at Brunswick, Me.16 30
Ch. Austin,.....	3		Do. in Dr Payson's Church,
Hor Buckner,...	1		Portland, Maine,.....42 76
Jac. Storrs,.....	1		From George & Bradford
Ed. Taylor,.....	5		Homer, Boston,..... 1 00
—	16	00	Lady,..... 25
Feb. 12. Aux. Soc. Jefferson			R. D. Mussey, Esq. Hanover,
co. Va. per Wm.			N. Hamp..... 5 00
Brown, Treas'r....	55	00	John J. Lang,..... 1 00
Feb. 14. J. of Alexandria,..	10	00	Ebenezer Lee,..... 1 00
Feb. 15. Aux. Soc. Fred. co.			J. L. Dewey,..... 0 50
Va. per O. Waite,	150	00	Charles B. Haddock, 2 00
Feb. 19. Mr. Withers,.....	5	00	E. Adams,..... 1 00
Mrs. J. Withers,..	5	00	A. T. Putnam,..... 1 00
Mrs. E. Withers,	5	00	W. A. Haddock,..... 1 00
A Lady,....	1	50	O. J. Hinckley,..... 1 00
From the Charity			Mr. Bradford, Boston,.....30 00
Box of a young			Mr. Hilton,..... 2 00
Lady in the Dis. of			Lady in Middletown, Conn. 3 00
Columbia,.....	8	00	Judge Story, Salem,.....25 00
Do. of a little Girl			
10 years old,.....	6	76	
Rev. Asa Meade,			
Brunswick, Maine,			
Marriage fee,.....	5	00	
1821.	778	26	<i>Subscribers to Colonization Soc'y.</i>
Aug. 23. Charity Box, Wa-			Rev. Mr. Andrews, Mansfield
terville, Maine, by			Conn..... 1 00
Jer Evarts,.....	2	00	Rev. Sam. Griswold, Lynæ,
Nov. 12. Cash from Divie			Conn..... 1 00
Bethune, for the			Rev. Mr. Mitchel, Norwich,
Society of N. York,	307	26	Conn..... 5 00
1822.			Some Donations received in Boston
Mrs. J. Lingan,.....	10	00	were paid over to the Massachu-
Received of E. S. Ely, D. D.	10	50	setts Society to aid in the sup-
			pression of the Slave-Trade.

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